

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 648

November 26th, 1948

THREE PENCE

WHY NOT FIGHT IT NOW?

BERTRAND, EARL RUSSELL told a meeting in London last Saturday that Russia had not yet made any atom bombs. "If she had, he said, experimental explosions would have been detected.

On the strength of this belief, Lord Russell recommended an immediate war against the Soviet Union. According to an Observer report, he said:

"Either we must have a war against Russia before she has the atom bomb or we will have to lie down and let them govern us."

An atomic war, he added, would be one of extraordinary horror, but it would be the war to end wars.

"Anything is better than submission," Lord Russell told a schoolboy listener who challenged his argument.

Pravda, I imagine, will report the speech in full, for it is a clear-cut confirmation—from the mouth of the greatest living philosopher in the Western world—of the policy the Communists allege to be the true policy of the Western powers, war against Russia while the going is good. Communist propagandists must be deeply grateful for such "copy." But what is the pacifist to say about it?

Best alternative

THERE is a strong case for holding that War Now is the best alternative to thoroughgoing pacifism. The second world war was partly brought about by popular semi-pacifism: if England had been tough, as Churchill recommended, she might have frightened the Germans; if she had been pacifist, as Lansbury recommended, she might have won the Germans round. In either case, there was a reasonable hope of success. But the oscillation between conciliation and resistance, between the Churchill line and the Lansbury line—that was disastrous.

Is there going to be a repetition of this policy in our dealings with Russia? Is our policy not already a repetition of it?

My fear is that it is. I am not alarmed by Lord Russell's programme (though perhaps surprised that he, who was once a famous pacifist, should have become so extreme a militarist) so much as I am by that of Mr. Bevin. For one thing, however reasonable the policy of War Now, it could not in practice be adopted, even if the leaders of the Western powers believed it best to do so. The peoples of the Western world could not be driven into a preventive war against Russia. Several more years of Russian provocation are needed for that. There is no immediate likelihood of war ("hope" of war, Lord Russell would have us say). The danger will come in upwards of five years' time. By then, presumably, Russia will have the atom bomb. It will be too late for a preventive war.

Berlin settlement

THE recent tension between the West and Russia is already easing. The Foreign Minister of Argentina believes that the deadlock will be ended in a matter of days. Dr. Bramuglia clearly hopes that the credit for the settlement will come to him. And well it may. The efforts of the earnest-minded Dr. Evatt have been no less considerable. But they have been less skilful. Dr. Bramuglia combines the vanity of an Argentine dandy with the horse-sense of an American trader. It is thought that his talks at the Palais de Chaillot may provide a formula based on Western concessions on the Berlin currency

and a Russian relaxation of the blockade. The world has been impressed by the success of the Western air lift, and it ought to be possible for a compromise to be reached without loss of face to the Western powers. Prestige is the issue most at stake now, and Dr. Bramuglia, with his South American understanding of

COMMENTARY

by

MAURICE CRANSTON

the subject of pride and honour, is the likeliest man to find the way to a solution.

Dr. Evatt's activities were described in The Spectator (Nov. 19) as a *faux pas*. The action of Dr. Evatt and Mr. Trygve Lie, in approaching the political heads of the Western

(CONTINUED ON PAGE SIX)

Hansard's title:

RE-ARMAMENT (CONSUMER GOODS)

Sir Stafford Cripps told Mr. Emrys Hughes in the Commons last week that the re-armament programme was unlikely to have any significant effect on the supply of consumer goods in the coming year.

Hansard placed the question, and the following supplementary, under the title "Re-armament (Consumer Goods)."

Mr. Hughes: Does the Chancellor of the Exchequer think that we can have more guns and more butter at the same time.

Sir S. Cripps: Yes, Sir, if our production is increased.



MONKEYS VICTIMS OF BRITAIN'S WAR PREPARATIONS?

THE Ministry of Supply will not reveal why 250 monkeys were recently imported by air from Calcutta. A question by Mr. Emrys Hughes in the Commons last week as to whether the animals were brought here for experiments connected with bacteriological warfare remains unanswered.

The Minister of Supply, Mr. G. R. Strauss, answering a question by Mrs. Leah Manning on Nov. 15, said that the animals referred to were required for research purposes, the nature of which it would not be in the public interest to disclose.

Mrs. Manning declared that the reticence of both the Ministry of Supply and the First Lord of the Admiralty on such questions lead the public to believe that the animals were needed for some nefarious purpose. "If it is, in fact, proved that they are needed for the same reasons as the animals were needed at the Bikini trials, the conscience of this country will be as revolted as it was at that time," said Mrs. Manning.

FOOTNOTE: The Government's huge uranium factory near Preston, Lancs., has started full-scale production. The furnace, according to the Daily Express (Nov. 23) will manufacture atomic explosive.

Will the small countries end power politics—save the UN?

Filipino delegate appeals for "Third World Force"

AN outstanding feature of the present session of the United Nations Assembly at Paris has been the activity of the smaller nations in attempts to end the Berlin dispute.

It is clear that the small States have a technical majority in the Assembly. Composed of the Latin American group which has twenty votes the Arab countries with six votes, the Far East, and the smaller nations of Europe (particularly Scandinavia) this potential "third world force" could make up more than the two-thirds majority necessary for recommendations by the Assembly.

Worldover Press Correspondent, Serge Fliegers, after an interview with Filipino delegate General Romulo, sends from Paris the following assessment of the strength of this "third force."

Palais de Chaillot, Paris.

HOW seriously the smaller member states of the United Nations take their role has been amply shown by the current sessions. Off the floor,

the UN is supposed to have, but which at present power politics does not permit it to exercise."

Calling for the formation of a "third world force" which would pay obedience neither to the Right nor to the Left, the Philippine veteran diplomat, who helped materially in the birth of the UN charter in San Francisco, asserted: "A world third force is neither too idealistic nor impracticable. If the small countries of the world refuse to be drawn into the defferent spheres of influence now existing, such a force can become a dynamic reality."

"Small nations at present tend more or less to lean on one or two of the three big powers, to the extent that they sometimes forget their own individual policies. However, since the paramount problem at present is war or peace, the security and survival of each individual nation is at stake. For this reason every nation—small or big—must see that its own security comes first and above all. Yet the duty of the small countries is to protect not only themselves but humanity. They can do this if they don't permit themselves to be pulled into the type of ideological warfare now going on at Paris."

STAY IN THE MIDDLE

"They must not widen the current cleavage by putting themselves on one side of the other. They can at least stay in the middle and concentrate their efforts on drawing the various formidable blocs together. If the cleavage must exist, we ought at least to make it as narrow as possible, and broaden the areas where agreement can be found." One direct result of the opening Assembly speech by Romulo along the same lines was the resolution by Mexico, calling on the "big blocs" to settle their differences soon. Adopted by a surprising unanimity, this resolution may have seemed innocuous; but it served as a rallying point for small-nation insistence.

Another result of the growing interest in a "third world force" was the attempt, repeated again and again despite mounting frustration, of the "six neutrals" to settle the Berlin dispute. The efforts of the six small countries failed to achieve any early result because, in the view of expert observers, Romulo's idea was not followed with sufficient unanimity by the small nations.

A spokesman for one of the big powers, who asked to be unnamed, told this correspondent: "Romulo's ideas are exactly the stuff we need at this crucial time in the UN. Apathy among the small nations, many of which bore the heaviest brunt of the war, might be fatal: it was a major reason for the failure of the old League of Nations. The great powers have unequivocally stated their positions, and it is hard for them to give ground. But the smaller countries can even vet take matters into their own hands and do an indispensable job in the prevention of another world catastrophe."

some of the delegates are outspoken about the danger to world peace in a continuing power drive by the world's great countries.

Philippine chief spokesman, Brigadier-General Carlos P. Romulo, who has been termed by fellow diplomats the "common sense delegate," told me recently: "The United Nations is on trial for its life. It can survive only if the member states, through goodwill, understanding and determination, remove it from power politics."

"It is up to the small and middle-sized nations," General Romulo explained, "to organise themselves and together assume the moral authority

Pacifists address Diocesan Conference

THREE pacifists received an "exceptionally friendly reception," according to Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS, when they spoke at the Birmingham Diocesan Conference last week.

The Large Hall, Queen's College Chambers was crowded, with a number of people standing, for an address on "The Christian Faith and the Atomic Bomb," by Dr. Lonsdale, a member of the Peace Pledge Union. Another PPU member, the Bishop of Birmingham, was in the Chair. The Archdeacon of Aston, who took the full pacifist position, opened the discussion which revealed that the majority of those present were not pacifists.

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
Stamford Hill 2262

Available from Newsagents and Bookstalls,
or direct from the above address.

CHINA

THERE is one thing which, we may feel fairly sure, was not taken into account in the various discussions on Chinese policy at Singapore and Washington last weekend: namely, the welfare of the Chinese people.

China has momentarily usurped the place of Europe in the cold war. The phrases customarily applied to Western Union are now being plastered on to Kuomintang China; there is even some likelihood of American aid as well as attention being diverted.

Yet apart from the single fact that Western Europe and China are both threatened by a Communist offensive, there is no resemblance whatever between the two. The choice in China is not between democracy and despotism, it is between one despotism and another.

We are far from sharing the illusion, carefully fostered by Mao Tse Tung, that Communism in China spells no more than agrarian reform. That may be the first step in the Communist programme, as it was in Rumania, Hungary and Russia itself; but it is only the first. There is no reason to doubt that, once their supremacy was established, these well-schooled Marxists would push ahead with collectivisation and the construction of a thoroughgoing totalitarianism.

But has the Kuomintang anything better to offer? The evidence is that it has not. The most ardent American anti-Communists have found little to say in its favour. Even when Chiang Kai-shek was Roosevelt's ally in the war against Japan, it was deemed prudent to ban his book in America, so obvious was the affinity between his ideals and those of the Fascists; and in practice they have been distinguished chiefly by their inefficiency.

From the Chinese peasant's point of view, a Communist victory would probably be preferable at any time—certainly preferable to a Kuomintang victory at the end of another eight years war, exacerbated by foreign intervention. At least it would mean peace and a respite from exploitation. That is the reason for the present situation.

Many Americans realise this. Hence their hesitation to embark on large-scale assistance, of the sort that has already drained their pockets, without noticeable advantage to democracy, in Tsaldaris' Greece. It is the long-term results that alarm them. Could democracy in the West be defended against a Soviet empire augmented by 200 million industrious, resourceful Chinese, possessed of some of the richest industrial deposits in Asia? Could the U.S. even retain its bases in South Korea and Japan without a buffer-state, however weak, to the West?

These are questions no pacifist need answer. We do not believe that what matters in democracy in Europe itself will be defended by force of arms. But even those who dissent from us might ask whether America would not do better to stop backing the Kuomintang and direct her policy instead towards wooing the Communists away from Moscow.

That may sound impossible, but is it? The Chinese Communists will have seized power by their own exertions: Mao Tse Tung may prove as little amenable to foreign direction as Tito. And even if he does prove a Quisling himself, he will be dependent for a long time to come on liberal-minded technicians. Moreover, it is difficult to imagine Marxism ever taking hold of the Chinese people. Between Marxism and Judaism, Islam or Orthodox Christianity there are obvious affinities: between Marxism and Buddhism, Confucianism or Taoism there are none. No imaginable creed could be more uncongenial to the Chinese tradition.

All in all, medical and economic aid to a Communist China might pay bigger dividends in the end than military aid to the Kuomintang. Which is the lesser risk: a Russophile Government with an Americanophile population, or an Americanophile Government with a Russophile population?

All is grist....

I CANNOT share, though I think I can understand, the indignation of the Western Governments (and their newspaper-lackeys) over the proposal of Dr. Evatt and Mr. Lie that they should resume negotiations with Russia for the ending of the Berlin dispute.

Obviously, from their point of view, it was hardly sportsmanlike of Dr. Evatt (and he an Australian!) to take such a mean advantage of their speeches of November 3, endorsing the Mexican appeal to the Great Powers to renew their efforts to compose their differences; of their unanimous agreement "that the United Nations, in the performance of its most sacred mission, is to afford its assistance and co-operation in the settlement of a situation the continuation of which involved grave dangers for international peace."

It was like, expecting the squire, on his way out of church, to pass the time of day with the poacher, merely because he had been reciting, "Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us." The clergyman who insisted on such behaviour would naturally be charged with exceeding his duties, if not actually administering a stab in the back.

Yet indignation is rarely a wise counsellor, and it seems to have been overlooked that the Western Governments, in refusing to discuss Berlin under duress, were not, as one editor after another has affirmed, merely sticking to their original decision. Quite the contrary. The phrase "negotiations under duress" originally referred to negotiations for the settlement of Germany as a whole. Dr. Evatt was inviting the Powers to do no more than re-open discussions in which they were engaged throughout the summer—only this time with the help of a UN mediator.

Even a politician, one might have thought, would see the absurdity of making negotiations for a lifting of the blockade conditional upon the blockade having been lifted.

AFTER a nine months truce from hangings, the Home Secretary allowed two executions last week. It was ironical that in between the two he should have informed the House of Commons that a Royal Commission was to be set up to re-examine the question of the death penalty. The death penalty in itself has few

defenders nowadays; discussion has moved on to the finding and weighing of alternatives. It was this fact that brought about the recent amalgamation of the National Council for the Abolition of the Death Penalty with the Howard League; and the terms of reference of the new Commission reflect the Government's realisation of it.

It is difficult to see what fresh information can be produced by such a body; but the hint that evidence from abroad may be called upon, gives hope that those who have shown already that they can deal quite constructively with murderers will be allowed to come and tell us how they do it.

THE TIMES last Friday contained a quaint extract from The Times of Nov. 21, 1848, indignantly rebutting a suggestion that the people of Great Britain were "peace-loving," and that wars were made only in the interests of the aristocracy.

"No people," thunders the leader-writer of a hundred years ago, "were so fond of war, and none—for a number of years—gained so much by it as did the English people. For a full century war was popular with the majority, or only unpopular when it was unproductive. Pepys relates the gloom and disgust which prevailed in the city at the Dutch war; but he also tells us that the merchants were angry, first, because it was an inglorious war; secondly, because it was not a French war. . . . A Whig ministry would never have weathered the storm and tempest of Opposition in Queen Anne's reign, had it not been for the victories of Marlborough. Everybody knows the hatred and contempt to which Walpole's scrupulous avoidance of a warlike policy exposed him. . . . Never was such enthusiasm excited in the populace as by the victories of the Nile, St. Vincent and Trafalgar.

"Talk of the aristocracy having encouraged wars for their own interest! Why, it would have been impossible for any aristocracy to check the martial spirit displayed, both before and after the Peace of Amiens, by more than half the tax-paying classes of the Empire."

THE year 1848 saw Henry Richard's agitation for an international "Peace Conference," which should substitute arbitration for war in the dealings of nation with nation. This summer a number of demonstra-

in the early stages of the Hyderabad conflict, so that what I said about this attitude was based on first hand knowledge. But I wholly agree with Mr. Dara that Mr. Gandhi himself upheld his faith in non-violence to the end. He would have disbanded all India's armed forces on Independence Day if he had been in charge of the Government. After that obviously there could have been no place for sending any armed force into Hyderabad.

2. As to Mr. Mirza, with all respect I can assure him that my conclusions about the desire of the vast majority of the people of Hyderabad were not hastily arrived at. They are based largely on evidence obtained personally from missionaries long resident in the State. I'm sorry to say that it is some of the "impartial observers" who have made "extremely careless statements" based, apparently, on brief visits paid to Hyderabad City and Secunderabad only, and after listening to the statements of the

LETTERS

former Hyderabad Ministers. Foreign correspondents who have visited the State since September seem to agree that the vast majority of Hyderabadis are glad to be incorporated in India.

3. As Dr. Jong says in his admirable letter, I too "would have preferred the Indian Government to rely on non-violent means only." But how could it so long as it lacks faith in the efficacy of non-violence? What I suppose could have happened would have been this: If, in Hyderabad State itself, there had been some heroic men and women, true adherents of non-violence, true followers of Gandhi, ready to suffer for their faith, they might have started a non-violent movement against the Nizam's Government, which might have got such widespread support from the local population that democratic freedom and union with India would have been won without any show of force.

This, let us hope, is the weapon of the future; but, as Mr. Gandhi has constantly warned us, it is impossible without men of extraordinary moral courage.

HORACE ALEXANDER.

Selly Oak,
Birmingham.

This correspondence must now close.
—Ed.

EXTRA EARNINGS

IN reply to the recent Appeal of National Council, a PPU member in Wales has not only sent us the fee he received for the first of a special series of lectures he is giving, but has also arranged that the fees for the subsequent 12 lectures shall be sent direct to us. A splendid response, for which we are most grateful.

It is not everybody who can earn extra by lecturing, but there may be some other job which you could do in part of your spare time and thus receive some extra payment which you could send to the PPU. The Post Office want extra help at Christmas. There are such jobs as baby-minding to relieve parents, or perhaps spare time typing. Will you think whether there is some job which you could do in this way and send to Headquarters Fund your extra earnings.

MAUD ROWNTREE.
Hon. Treasurer.

Contributions since Oct. 8: £2 0s. 6d.
Total for 1948: £216 2s. 5d.

Donations to the fund should be sent, marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

tions were held around his monument in Tregaron, by societies and villagers protesting against the War Office plan to seize 18,000 acres of the surrounding country—one of the most glorious walking countries in the British Isles, as I can vouch from experience, as well as a productive pasturage for sheep.

The efforts of the Tregaron Defence Committee were rewarded last week-end, when it became known that the War Office had decided "not to proceed further" with the proposal. The ghost of Henry Richard must have joined in the general rejoicing throughout Wales.

A STREET-SELLER in Dorset sends me the following delightful account of an incident which took place in 1940:

"I was selling on an island which was then in Bournemouth Square. I saw an old lady, primly dressed, coming towards me, followed by another elderly woman in sober raiment. To my surprise, the first old lady stopped and handed me 2d.—she had, it ready. No such elderly woman had ever bought Peace News before. The one behind then came quietly forward and held out a small basket. Without a word being uttered by anybody, the first old lady quietly tore up the Peace News into little pieces, deposited them neatly in the waiting basket, and they both moved forward in the same order. . . ."

I wonder which, if either, of these purchasers had been reading Jeremiah XXXVI?

John Miller

Communists and the PPU

AS an early signatory of Dick Sheppard's Peace Pledge, and as one who has stood for the cause of pacifism since 1915, I wish to say that I am gravely disturbed by the recent decision of the National Council of the PPU to engage in a joint campaign against war with the Communist Party. I fully understand and sympathise with the motives which have led to this decision. Nevertheless I feel that the decision is a real disaster.

In 1939 the PPU was careful to avoid any co-operation with the Fascists, although they (like ourselves) were actively opposed to war with Germany.

In essentials the parallel is, I believe, complete. The Communists are not, any more than the Fascists, opposed to the war-method in itself. In fact, Communism stands essentially for the war-spirit and the war-method in the internal affairs of the community. It seeks to realise its objects by the intensification of the class-war, by the promotion of strikes and social chaos, the seizure of power, the suppression of opposition, the use of terror and the secret police. To co-operate on behalf of peace with those who support such methods is to make a mockery of the cause for which we stand.

Moreover, the Russian Government, which all faithful Communists support, is the main disturbing factor in the present divided condition of the world. The story of diplomacy from Yalta onwards makes that fact abundantly clear. To join with the supporters of that Government in demanding peace is to be guilty of sheer moral self-contradiction.

(REV.) SIDNEY SPENCER.

40, Sydenham Avenue,
Liverpool, 17.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with the matter advertised.

In a Moscow Church

MP JOINED
IN CHORUS

IT is only a year ago this very month that I was privileged to attend a Baptist chapel in Moscow, and there were 2,000 people worshipping in the morning service. There is not a Baptist minister in Britain who would not eat his hat to have a morning congregation of 2,000.

It may well be that there are some Hon. Gentlemen in this House who will believe that all that was laid on for me, that it was all there for my benefit. I happen to have joined in the singing of a chorus with those Russian people. They sang in Russian but I knew the chorus well and sang it in English.

"This is my story, this is my song, Praising my Saviour all the day long." I know a genuine religious atmosphere when I am in it, and I was in it in that chapel and I talked to the leaders afterwards.

I would not accept the Communist philosophy, but in the name of all that is decent let no Hon. Member of this House try to use the Christian faith as a buttress for political prejudice. We have already suffered too much from that, and the Church itself suffers when such things are done.

—George Thomas, M.P., House of Commons, Oct. 27, 1948.

POLICEMAN

and

SOLDIER

DURING the war I read a newspaper report of what seemed to be the perfect "what would you do if a German tried to rape your mother-in-law" case.

In an attempt to protect his fiancée against three thugs, a young soldier drew his revolver and shot one of them dead.

He was doing what members of tribunals in two wars had said any Englishman ought to be proud to do, but a jury found him guilty of manslaughter, and he was sentenced to a term of imprisonment. His revolver and ammunition, had, of course, been issued to him by the State so that he could protect his dear ones from attack; but the possibility of attack from such close quarters had presumably been overlooked.

Even at the risk of stating what may seem trite to some readers of Peace News, may I say that there is no analogy between warfare and the use of force in individual cases. Non-pacifists always find it convenient to argue as though there were a clear analogy between the work of the policeman and that of the soldier.

The analogy breaks down at every point. The policeman uses force, but he would be a bad policeman if he used violence. He brings his

As reported in Peace News last week, Archdeacon Hartill, speaking at the Church Assembly, referred to the grave error made by the Church Commission on Atomic Power in assuming that there was a real analogy between modern warfare and a policeman making an arrest. In this article JOHN VINCENT puts forward his views on

A false analogy

"enemies" before a genuinely impartial court, but the soldier acts under orders, not from an impartial court, but from one of the litigants, who is judge, jury, plaintiff and executioner combined. The policeman has to discriminate between the innocent and those who may be guilty, but the soldier acts against those who can never be proved guilty, unless, possibly, after punishment has already been inflicted. After the last war, the British and their allies held the Nuremberg trials, but what is the value of a trial in which the litigants are also the judges? There is clearly no analogy between the work of the policeman and that of the soldier.

Unfortunately pacifists as well as non-pacifists sometimes use this false analogy. Let us be plain. A man may renounce war, and be unwilling to support or sanction another, and yet be willing to use not only force, but armed force in certain circumstances. If I saw an armed burglar approaching my house, I should not run to fetch the special doormat with "Welcome" on it. I should ring up the police, and render them what aid I could. I should be untrue to my conception of citizenship if I acted otherwise.

What are the circumstances in which the use of force is justifiable? Firstly, it must be exercised against the guilty person. In cases such as that which I have cited, this presents no difficulty. The serving soldier or airman, fighting against non-combatants or unwilling conscripts, destroys the innocent with the guilty. Secondly, the amount of force used shall be sufficient to restrain the wrongdoer, and it shall cease when this purpose is accomplished. It shall be force, as distinct from violence. Provided these conditions are complied with I can see nothing wrong in the use of force. It seems superfluous to add that no sensible person, pacifist or not, would use force when persuasion would be sufficient.

It is curious that discussions between pacifists and non-pacifists often degenerate into arguments about the burglar and the hypothetical attacker of women. It almost seems as though the non-pacifists realise that it would be idle to try to defend war, and somewhere within their hearts cherish the conviction that war is futile and wicked, and therefore they sidetrack the discussion on to a completely different subject.

I assert that there are occasions when the use of force is not only permissible, but when the failure or refusal to use it would be treacherous, cowardly and dishonourable. I sincerely hope that the pacifist who will not go to the rescue of a defenceless girl savagely assaulted is a figure of fiction, existing only in the perverted imaginations of those who are at a loss for arguments with which to disprove the case against pacifism.

Pastoral

IN Old Testament history there is a notable instance of "a priest, a scribe of the law of the God of heaven," who refused military protection for himself and people under his care as they had to take a long and perilous journey through alien lands to their native home.

King Artaxerxes had issued a decree that all the Jews who wished to do so might go forth from their exile in Babylon, and return to worship their God in Jerusalem. He loaded them with silver and gold, with costly vessels, wheat, salt, oil, wine, and substance, and bade them God-speed on their journey.

Surely, with all this treasure, a tempting prize to brigands and enemies, Ezra and his people will need a military escort. Listen to this priest:

"Then I proclaimed a fast at the river Ahava that we might humble ourselves before God, to seek of Him a straight way, for us, and for our little ones, and for our substance. For I was ashamed to ask of the king a band of soldiers and horsemen to help us against the enemy in the way: because we had spoken to the king saying, the hand of God is upon all that seek Him for good; but His power and His wrath is against all that forsake Him."

The result? Are they not all robbed and massacred? Travelling many miles for days through dangerous zones, Ezra is able to say at the end of the journey, "the hand of our God was upon us, and (though unarmed) He delivered us from the hand of the enemy and the lie-in-wait by the way. And we came to Jerusalem, and abode three days. And on the fourth day was the silver, and the gold, and the vessels weighed in the house of our God."

Would that our Bishops and all our modern priests had the wisdom of Ezra, and of the Book they are called to expound! Would that like him they could feel ashamed to ask for the aid of soldiers when they have sought their ally in God! To what purpose is their singing in church, "Sufficient is Thine arm alone, and our defence is sure," when having declared His arm to be all-sufficient they call for piles of atom bombs, and rocket missiles, and a band of boys scientifically trained to reduce the lie-in-wait into unrecognisable pulp, as though He were too weak to protect?

O ye people of England, follow not these blind guides: they will only lead you into the ditch! Listen to the saints and seers of the ages who have told you again and again that "the angel of the Lord encamps round about them that fear Him," that moral and spiritual forces are mightier than weapons of war, and produce safer and more blessed results!

Compass the strong faith of the great Statesman who, going out with his friends to live among fierce warlike tribes, said to the English king who offered him military aid, "I want none of thy soldiers. I have a better defence than that—the promised protection of Almighty God and the moral sense of the Red Indians." Meeting potential enemies with trust and good will he, too, won through gloriously.

(Rev.) EDWIN FOLEY.

The individual in extremis

IT was highly encouraging to read some of the letters quoted under the title "Ex-servicemen volunteer again—for peace" (Peace News, Nov. 5):

"I served," said the first writer, "five years in the RAF during the late war and thought this the only way of working for a just and lasting peace. I observed with regret that I was wrong as there seems to be little desire for peace among the governments of the world. The conclusion I have come to is that it is imperative for each individual to make his position absolutely clear and his determination to outlaw war apparent."

"... Prior to the last war," said the second writer, "I did join the Peace Pledge Union but did not continue membership as I felt its objects were not the answer to the problem then prevailing, and I volunteered for the Army. Present day circumstances however have made me feel I was wrong, and I wonder if there is not something ordinary people can do to prevent the continual tragedy of war."

Of particular interest in these letters is the importance the respective writers attribute to the "individual" and "ordinary man." This little individual, the ordinary man, is usually left out of account. He is expected to play the game of "follow my leader," millions of them are pushed about to realise their leaders' ambitions, and although potentially capable of good things, they are easily led to do most horrible things.

The thought-atmosphere is so thick with talk about Reconstruction, World Government, Socialisation, Nationalisation, Communism, Marxism, strikes, war, organised society, planning, democracy and what not, that the ordinary man has become completely bewildered and lost his elementary sense of direction, his religion. Under such circumstances it is particularly gratifying to hear that there are individuals upon whom these intoxicating intellectual fumes had a miraculously sobering effect.

On Nov. 12 in Peace News is a further instance of this significant phenomenon: Captain Ellsworth W. Taylor's letter to President Truman, with its strong emphasis in paragraph ten on the importance of the "small man."

It seems obvious that the greatest service that can be rendered to the

"small man," and at the same time to all mankind, is to help him realise his moral responsibility for everything he does.

Something similar, though on a larger scale, seems to have taken place among the people whom the writers of these letters formerly regarded as their enemies. Here is a paragraph from Alexander Clifford's report on Germany, bearing the title "Inside the German Mind" (Daily Mail, 15.9.48).

"There is hardly a department of life now where the Germans are not accepted as normal."

"They have, of course, taken refuge wholeheartedly in the other extremity of their character. They have swung sharply away from their militaristic mood across to their picturesque, industrious, attractive, healthy aspect, full of folk music and peasant crafts and sports and tramping in the mountains and student romance and cosy home-making."

"They are doing it absolutely genuinely, feeling deeply that those are the real things in life and that war is the ultimate madness."

In the opinion of Mr. Clifford this is merely an "extremity." Curiously enough he also thinks that in three post-war years the Germans have "graduated from semi-monsters to rather dull human beings," that they are "in urgent need of developing political leadership and consciousness and responsibility" and that "you can't expect too much from a nation that keeps losing its whole ruling class as Germany does."

By contrast, we must be very fortunate. We have not swung sharply away from our militaristic mood and we have not been losing our ruling class as they have—far from it. Neither have we ever been semi-monsters.

But why should it be wrong to swing sharply from the militaristic mood across to the picturesque, industrious, attractive, healthy aspect, full of folk music and peasant crafts and sports and tramping in the mountains and cosy homemaking, and to make this swing absolutely genuinely, feeling deeply that those are the real things in life and war is the ultimate madness? What is dull about it? Should we rather not appeal to all nations to take steps in the same direction?

If we hesitate, if the Germans observe that their neighbours, who have persistently accused them of being militaristic, reveal no intention of giving up their militaristic mood, they might lose heart and the light that is now flickering might go out as it did once before.

L. PERNO.

TEN YEARS AGO.

From Peace News, November 26, 1938

"In consideration of the British Government's granting permission to the following person or persons... to come to this country for the purpose of taking up residence either temporary or permanent, I, the undersigned, being a householder, and declaring myself to be possessed of sufficient means to carry out the necessary financial operation, do hereby unconditionally guarantee to hold myself responsible for his (her, their) maintenance and upkeep during such time as he (she, they) may be allowed to reside in this country."

If you could sign such a statement (over a sixpenny stamp) you could

get a refugee out of Germany. If you are willing to do this, send us your name and address and we will put you in touch.

Rather than distract on the property of a pacifist who refused to pay that part of his rate devoted to ARP, a bailiff has paid the amount himself. He has told the man that if he is again summoned for refusal to pay his ARP rate, before a distress warrant can be issued, he (the bailiff) will tell the court that he will pay it himself—whether the pacifist likes it or not.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER
SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., WC1

HIGHLANDS DISCOVERY

One Horse Farm: Crofting in the West Highlands, by Raymond O'Malley. Frederick Muller. 12s. 6d.

OF all the CO's who worked on the land during the war at the direction of the tribunals few can have been as adventurous as Raymond O'Malley. After only a year's experience as a paid hand on Highland farms he and his wife rented a croft consisting of 19 acres of arable land, 193 acres of rough hill grazing and a flock of 100 Cheviot sheep. Previously he had been a schoolmaster in Devon. The choice, to farm in a district that "had resisted change and might tell something of the past" was deliberate.

In his book we are taken round the year's work on the croft and given a wonderful insight into the life of the glen. We learn of the seasonal cycle of work with hill sheep. And what an exasperating business it must have been tending a flock which had learnt to find a way over, through or round every fence on the farm. We learn too of the struggle to win hay, a contest with the weather of a kind rarely experienced in other parts of the country. But indeed every phase of the work seemed to be more laborious than on a lowland farm: corn was cut with a scythe and threshed by hand with a stick; it might mean a day's walk to lead a cow to the nearest bull.

In every case, whether he writes of horserwork, or of auctions, or of the neighbourly way in which the people of the glen turn out to help each other with the more urgent field work, we are made to see it all with the keen awareness of one to whom every experience is new.

The photographs are the glory of the book. They go a long way towards showing what manner of life the crofter's is—a hard life in magnificent surroundings. But I would gladly have given up a couple of the photographs for a profit and loss account, for that is really what is wanted to complete the picture.

Raymond O'Malley's underlying theme is the extent to which human values may have been lost in the "progress" of our machine dominated civilisation. Are the lives most of us lead today less whole and less human, he asks, and if so is our "progress" worth the cost? He gives no final answer to this familiar question, but by, as it were, slipping back in history to a simple, and indeed primitive agricultural life he is able to illuminate and comment on his theme at every turn. On the very last page we read:

"Though the crofting system itself may belong to a world that will never return, it embodies values that have been ignored at heavy cost. Sooner or later they will regain their hold."

This book which will be a delight to all who have recently given up sitting-down jobs for the more arduous work of the land, will especially appeal to those whose thoughts come back time and again to this unanswered question. To them the digression on the nature of folk music and its place in the social life of the Highlands may well be the most valuable part of the book.

F. J. BALKWILL.

PRINTING

MAGAZINES, PAMPHLETS
NEWSLETTERS, POSTERS
Reports, Balance Sheets and
all Commercial Printing
Enquiries receive prompt attention

C. A. BROCK & Co.,
Ltd.

79, SOUTHERN ROW, LONDON, W.10



JEWES OF THE EARLY CHURCH

Saints Against Cæsar, by Hugh J. Schonfield. Macdonald, 12s. 6d.

A FEATURE of New Testament research and criticism in recent times has been the contribution made by Jewish historians. Most of the work, however, has been on the life of Jesus. Hugh J. Schonfield rather left the beaten path when he wrote a life of St. Paul, and in his latest book he is on ground frequented by few of his race.

Despite the title, which may have been chosen for its pleasant alliteration or even in a spirit of gentle irony, *Saints Against Cæsar* is not the story of early Christians bidding defiance to the Emperor of Rome. The many little Churches scattered around the edge of the Mediterranean Sea in the wake of the peripatetic apostles are hardly mentioned. It is a record of the foundation and development of the community of Jewish Christians, or Nazarenes as they were called at that time, established first at Jerusalem, and later when that city was destroyed at Pella in the Decapolis.

It is true, of course, that this was the earliest Church, and as it was led by the original apostles and Jesus' own family, it claimed, and for some time exercised supremacy over all others, but the struggle of its members was mainly against the Sanhedrin. Most of the trouble they experienced at the hands of Cæsar and his representatives came upon them not because they were Christians but because they were Jews.

With the assistance of many Jewish sources, the author makes a

clear and very readable story of how this Church was founded and grew; one which is more "living" than any other I know. As might be expected, on some points he is discreetly non-committal and gives the Bible record without comment. For example, he discusses the number and order of appearances of the resurrected Lord, but not their authenticity, although this might be considered vital in the birth of the Church.

This part of the book is full of valuable and exciting conjectures, which will have to be taken into consideration in all future research in this field. Perhaps, like most of those who try to recreate the past, Hugh J. Schonfield sometimes builds too large a theory on too little evidence, but none can regret being introduced so pleasantly to John the Householder of Jerusalem or to Simeon ben Cleophas who is convincingly suggested as the author of the apocalyptic *Revelation of St. John*.

The second part of the book is a new translation of the apocalypse. Although there are some interesting alternative readings, it is generally unexceptional. The accompanying commentary does help to make some passages more intelligible, but I fancy that the writer seeks far too complete an explanation in Jewish tradition, as Franz Boll did in Graeco-Roman astrology. It is necessary sometimes to say: I have not the slightest idea what this means.

T.R.D.

EN ATOMO

The Last Trump, by Denis de Rougemont. Doubleday and Co. Inc., New York, \$2.

AT first perusal this book, by a Swiss delegate to the Congress of Europe at the Hague last May, might be dismissed as a frivolous piece on a serious subject. However, "when I observe that our entire world has changed since Hiroshima, and that, nevertheless, those responsible for the common fate go on behaving exactly as usual," the author explains, "I smile: that's my new way of being serious."

The title is from St. Paul: "We shall all be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump." Do you know what the Greek text says where the French translation reads "In an instant?" It says *en atomo*—in an atom.

Concerning the atom bomb as a trump card, "The Militarists," he suggests, "may as well dedicate themselves to sports from now on. . . . There will be no more war in the classic sense of the word. . . . The stout-hearted captains and armies in fine array advancing undaunted against the atomic bomb would return after a few moments in the form of light vapour." Nevertheless, he inquires: "Could it be that peace perished along with war?" He develops the theme that the atom bomb has no secrets that will not soon be discovered by other powers, and that catastrophe is imminent unless something drastic is done.

Monsieur de Rougemont then smiles his way through to the moral: "A simple vision of . . . world union. . . . This solution has all the marks of fate: everything points the way, and sooner or later it will be forced upon us."

HAROLD S. BIDMEAD

An agreeable anarchy

Village in the Sun, by Dane Chandos. Michael Joseph, 10s. 6d.

YOU can read this book as a piece of escapist literature, if you like. It is a relief to turn from the lowering skies and sinister rumblings of Europe, the wranglings and posturing of politicians, the clash of ideologies, to this account of a year spent in an Indian village in Mexico. There is certainly dirt, ignorance, squalor and superstition in Ajijic. Petty squabbles are part of the small change of its life. But there are other things.

"Perhaps all the Indians do not know how to behave themselves in a way that would fit them for a true anarchy. But when a village such as Ajijic can exist with no police and no garrison, that is not bad. There have been one or two murders. I expect there are more proportionately in New York. I haven't heard of any other crimes in Ajijic. And Ajijic ought to be average Mexico. The sophisticated cities are not Mexico, nor are the savage tribes. Ajijic has much of the unspoiled Indian character yet but it is advancing. It is nowhere in particular on the road of progress. It is all over, anywhere. But it gets along nicely without police or crime, an agreeable anarchy."

any group of Indians, casually gathered at a street corner or in a shop door, falls into a balanced composition."

What sensitive person living in the West in this decade can feel happy at the idea of extending the bounds of modern civilisation. The wireless station, the pylon, the arterial road, the housing estate—and behind them, the concentration camp and the ethics of Hiroshima?

The book is much more, however, than a means of escape. It is a kindly, tolerant and passionate defence of the Indian way of life, which has its warts and blemishes, but which comes out of it very well.

"Every Indian knows how to lay bricks, just as he knows how to milk a cow and manage a seine net and row and ride and plough and reap and dig."

The Indian is not lazy and feckless, but he has his own peculiar sense of time.

"The past is real, it happened, we all saw yesterday, there it was. Today is real too, it is cold or it is hot, we have eaten or we have not eaten. . . . But tomorrow is imaginary, it is non-existent, it is quite unreal, and things that are unreal do not have exact dimensions and precise seasons."

The up-and-coming, go-getting, hard-headed businessmen of the New World, it seems, do not approve of this outlook, and Mr. Chandos has some hard things to say about them.

There is much humour to counter-balance the tragedy of ever-present poverty and pain, and the book is a distinct addition to the already distinguished literature on Mexico.

JOHN WARD.

DULLEST OF CLASSES

Man's Estate, by André Malraux. Methuen, 8s. 6d.

WHEN I was sent this new edition of Malraux's *La Condition Humaine*, my first thought was, How timely! For the scene of the novel is laid in China, during the Communist revolution of 1927 and the Kuomintang counter-revolution.

Having finished its 350 pages, however, I was left wondering only one thing: to what does Malraux owe his international reputation? Without exception, his characters belong to that dullest of classes, the political intelligentsia. Preoccupied exclusively with ideologies and sex, they drift from bed to barricade, and back again, in surroundings of monotonous squalor. There is not one of them in whom one can feel the faintest interest, and the political background itself remains phantasmagoric to the end.

F.A.L.



BOURNVILLE COCOA

made by CADBURY

STEPHEN ROHOUSE.

U.S. Quakers' gift to Russia showed right approach

NORWAY QUAKERS SAY NO TO DEFENCE TAX

Below appears a translation of a letter sent last month by the Norwegian Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends to their Government as a result of the recent levying of a £5,000,00 Defence Tax. The Government have since refused to recognise any conscientious objection to the payment of the tax. Friends are now considering their future course of action.

IT is with great anxiety that we, members of the Society of Friends in Norway, see that the Storting has passed a new law concerning a special tax called Defence Tax, a tax which is intended to be for armament or military purposes.

We have always been willing and law-abiding payers of taxes and we will continue to be so. We have allowed the authorities of the State to take the responsibility for the use of the means which have been raised by direct or indirect taxation from the citizens of the country. But when the authorities demand a special tax which conflicts so definitely with our faith and convictions the matter is a serious one for us and for others with the same convictions.

The religious views which Quakers have held for three hundred years, have struggled and suffered for, make this tax seem to us a considerable retreat from the religious toleration which we have for a long time been able to rejoice over in our country. If there cannot be found another way to make a contribution to the public good even for those who will not support war preparations, it will be necessary for the sake of conscience to refuse to pay and take the consequences which will result.

We believe that there could be a solution which would be in keeping with the freedom and religious tolerance which the State has now shown for several generations, namely that there should be given an opportunity to make a contribution to some humanitarian object, preferably one of those of an international nature which Norway participates in as a consequence of her membership of the United Nations. Such an arrangement, would be in line with the possibility which is given conscientious objectors to take alternative civilian service.

We hope that this approach will be regarded as an expression of conscientious consideration of what is truly constructive for society.

for the Society of Friends,
(signed) Thoralf Bryne,
Clerk.

FROM Lewisham and Puerto Rico, Venice and Yarmouth, from cities, towns and villages all over the world, reports of pacifist meetings and activities have been pouring into the Peace News office.

Bristol has heard of the work of European war resisters and of the PPU in Australia from Tony Bishop. Florence, Rome, Sienna and Turin have heard the message of the FoR from American and French members, while in Britain 10,000 clergymen have been circularised with the Amsterdam pacifist declaration.

THE FUNCTION OF THE PPU TODAY

SPEAKING on "Is peace with Russia possible?" Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union told a Yarmouth meeting, organised by the local PPU group, that peace depends on how far we were prepared to turn from the policy of preparation for war to the constructive policy of real preparation for peace.

Sybil Morrison, PPU campaign organiser, also spoke and the following message from Vera Brittain was read to the meeting, as well as one from Leah Manning, M.P.

"Best wishes for the success of your meeting. I am quite sure that war is the wrong method of dealing with differences between countries, owing both to the annihilating destructiveness of modern weapons and the fact that these penalise and chiefly involve the innocent on both sides. Differences between Britain and Russia are, however, real; and I do not honestly think that there is any common factor between the philosophy of the PPU and that of totalitarian governments, whether Nazi or Communist. Nor do I think that the answer to the evil of National Sovereignty is to work for the national sovereignty of another country rather than one's own."

"The only effective way to get rid of a bad idea is to replace it by a better one. The particular function of the PPU today, as I see it, is to make the conception of peaceful co-operation between peoples and states on a basis of Christian values more attractive to the ordinary citizen of any country than the idea of class warfare. The PPU should, I think, avoid identification with any 'ism' but its own. The first essential of its propaganda is that it should command public confidence. This does not mean that co-operation between peoples, and even politicians, is impossible at a different level. Our job is to ascertain the chief needs of other countries, and try to meet these in a spirit of love and understanding of the human problems involved."

"The gift of streptomycin made to Russian hospitals by the American Friends Service Committee with their Nobel Prize money was, in my view, the right approach."

The meeting, reported at length in the local and county press, has done much to strengthen the movement in East Anglia.

Yarmouth PPU Group (Secretary, Harry Miller, 3, Camperdown, Great Yarmouth, Norfolk), is to hold another public meeting on Wednesday, Dec. 1, at 7.30 p.m. in the Friends Meeting House. Kenneth Trueman PPU field worker will be the speaker.

NORWICH MEETING

The Yarmouth meeting was preceded earlier in the month by a meeting at Norwich of the East Anglian area of the PPU. Stuart Morris spoke then of his recent visit to Germany during which he had had opportunities of meeting and encouraging various peace groups and individual war resisters.

Later in the evening representatives of about 12 organisations discussed a proposal to form a Peace Council in the City and a further meeting was arranged.

(Other PPU reports—page 6.)

FOR ACTIVITIES IN THREE COUNTRIES

THE Fellowship of Reconciliation, with the help of its members, has sent to 10,000 ministers and clergy throughout England, Scotland and Wales, a copy of Reconciliation containing a report of the World Council

of Churches at Amsterdam and interviews which members of the FoR had with leading delegates there. Also sent, was a copy of the pacifist memorandum signed by 78 Christians from 15 different countries (the text of which appeared in PN, Sept. 24).

Anti-war Pastors meet

A NUMBER of clergy and laity of different churches and nations were present in Münster on Oct. 28 and 29, at a meeting of the Association of Anti-War Pastors in Germany.

The ecumenical base was even more embracing than Amsterdam: among the participants were Pater Franziskus M. Stratmann, a Dominican friar and well-known champion of pacifism within the Roman-Catholic church, and Rev. Nicolai Orloff, a Russian Orthodox. Rev. J. W. Eastwood represented Great Britain. Press and Radio took great interest in this unique meeting.

It found its climax with a public meeting in co-operation with the German Peace Society in a blitzed Münster church attended by several hundred people who had come to the town for the commemoration of the Westphalian treaty which was signed there in 1648 after thirty years of war.

PUERTO RICO

The San Juan newspaper El Mundo recently carried a news item announcing the formation by Lilian and Bob Pope in Santurce of the first Puerto Rican branch of the FoR.

The aims and principles of the FoR were fully outlined in the report which said that one of the purposes of the branch was to give advice to conscientious objectors to the new conscription law, which, of course applies in Puerto Rico as well as in the States.

ITALY

Venice, Florence, Sienna, Rome, Turin and many other Italian towns and cities were visited by Nevin Sayre (U.S.), Magda Trocmé and Jacques Martin (France), during a recent two week speaking trip.

Pacifist Profiles XVI

A VERY active member of the International Council of the War Resisters' International, who has just been visiting Great Britain, is forty-five-year-old Hagbard Jonassen, secretary of the Danish Section.

Dismissed from his post in the East Asiatic Co. of Copenhagen in 1926, on account of his refusal to undertake military service, Hagbard spent a year in one of the camps for



HAGBARD JONASSEN

COs engaged in civilian work, at Gribbskov; and it was there that he, with others, founded the Section.

Shortly afterwards he entered Copenhagen University, where he graduated in 1932, and during the following years he was often abroad—taking part in geological and botanical survey of Ireland. But the Section continued to grow, until it became, in proportion to the population, the largest in Europe.

When the Germans invaded Denmark, the members expected to be driven "underground" as in other countries, and took care to burn or secret their correspondence with refugees from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia. Their organisation, however, was hardly touched. It continued to publish its paper, *Aldrig Mere Krig* (No More War) throughout the War, containing outspoken criticism of dictatorship, comments on the non-violent resistance in Norway, and protests against the persecution of the Jews. At the same time it co-operated in the work of smuggling refugees out of Denmark.

In 1943, preparations for post-war relief-work were set afoot, and Hagbard Jonassen, who had been teaching in a secondary school, was appointed Chairman of *Fredsvænners Hjaelparbejde* (Friends of Peace Relief Work). By the end of the War, some 300 young men and women had been secretly trained, and the Norwegian Minister of Social Affairs was glad to avail himself of an offer to send twenty nurses to Norway in July 1945.

Other peace organisations joined in, and Hagbard Jonassen was appointed by the Danish Government to the Joint Committee for Relief Work Abroad. In addition to his work in this connection, he is now a leading member of the Association for the Protection of Scientific Work, and a council member of the "Danish Nature" association at the University of Copenhagen.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY
LATEST TIME for copy: Monday
before publication.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length: 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.
When corresponding with PN about advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.
We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.
Owing to the increasing pressure on our advertising space we must ask that all copy for display in this section should reach us not later than the Thursday morning eight days prior to publication.

MEETINGS

LONDON, S.W.1., Dec. 4 CO Reception Dinner, 7.0 p.m., Stewart's Restaurant, Victoria. Guests of Honour, H. Runham Brown, and John P. Fletcher. Details from Rex Whitaker, 76 Mount Nod Road, S.W.16. Tel.: STR 0083.
WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. tube), Sunday Evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

HELP INTERNATIONAL work for Peace and yourself at the sale on Saturday Nov. 27, 3 p.m. at Westminster Friends House, organised by International Voluntary Service for Peace.

SIR RICHARD GREGORY on "Degradation of Science in War." City Literary Institute, Stukeley St., Drury Lane, W.C.2. Wed. Dec. 1 at 1.15 p.m. National Peace Council.

CENTRAL LONDON Group, 8 Endsleigh Gardens, W.C.1. Dec. 3 Group policy. Dec. 10 Fenner Brockway "USA, USSR and Britain." Dec. 17 Embassy Theatre. Dec. 24 no meeting. Dec. 31 Social at the kind invitation of Olive Javols. Meetings at 7.30, Sec., 33 Compton Rd., N.1.

BIRMINGHAM PPU grand party, I.L.P. room, 38 John Bright St., this Saturday, 3 p.m. Great conjuring show for the children.

ACCOMMODATION

SEASIDE HOLIDAY acmdtn. for Vegetarians and others welcomed. Vegetarians at Innfree, St. Mary's Bay, Ashford, Kent.

USE OF cottage in New Forest (on bus route) for three months commencing immediately. Partly furnished—plus £1 weekly in exchange for caretaking large vacant mansion adjacent. Few hrs. weekly. Box 983.

LAKE DISTRICT. "Beck Allans" and "Rothay Bank," Grasmere. Attractive Guest Houses for strenuous or restful holidays. First class vegetarian diet. Dormitory accommodation at special rates. Enquiries to: Isabel James, at Beck Allans. Tel.: Grasmere 129.

DERBYSIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation: all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate. Tel.: Ambergate 44).

EDUCATIONAL SPEAKING & WRITING lessons. 5s. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5636.

FOR SALE & WANTED LARGE PRAM for sale, 25 Constance Rd., Whitton, Twickenham.

DELIGHTFUL XMAS present Attractively decorated Cork Table Mats. Set of 6 for 7s. 6d. Post free. Box 984.

LITERATURE, &c. QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee Friends' House Euston Rd., London.

PERSONAL EXHIBITION OF Water Colours by Marjorie Turberville of the Lake District at the Friends House, Euston Rd., Dec. 7, 8 and 9. Tuesday to Thursday.

YOUNG CO wishes to correspond with young male/female pacifist. Box 981.
GIFT PARCELS containing coffee, tea and food can be sent to Germany Austria, etc. Write: Fregata Ltd., 11 Greek St., London, W.1.

SITUATIONS VACANT Situations are available only to applicants excepted from the Control of Emigration Order, 1947. No. 2021
YOUNG TEACHER (male or female) required for group of six intelligent boys, age seven. Particulars from Tony Warner, Oakley Wood School, Sherwood House, Newton, St. Cyres, Devon.

WANTED FOR permanent staff in Central London, vegetarian, man or woman, general office duties, typing essential, shorthand an advantage. Also woman secretary, good speeds and office training. Apply immediately Box 976.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

MASTER DECORATOR, period/modern, wife sht/typist if desired, child aged 2 years. Requires position with accommodation. Apply Box 980.
EASTBOURNE AREA. Clerk, typist, driver, requires employment. Full/part time. Box 982.

PACIFIST URGENTLY needs employment (if possible, including accommodation) Handyman, Salesman, Social Worker, Caretaker or? Suggestions welcomed. Age 46. Experienced machine repairs, car driver. Part time only required as I always refuse to pay income tax for war purposes. Bed-sitting room also urgently required. Walter James Clayfield, c/o Mr. T. Vinall, Bishops-tawton, Barnstaple, Devon.

EXPERT DUPLICATING Service. Enquiries invited. Mabel Eyles, 2 Aberdeen Park, High Wycombe, London, N.5. Tel. CANonbury 8882.

Arabs' plight a reproach to UN

COMMENTARY CONTINUED

powers and Russia regarding new conversations on Berlin was said to be "shot through with impropriety and ineptitude" and to tend "not merely to discredit the authority of the new *démarche*, but to bring the UN itself into some disrepute."

By way of contrast, Dr. Bramuglia's activities were reported two days later in The Observer to have created a feeling of optimism in Paris. This same newspaper also carried the report that both sides had responded to the mediation efforts.

Half hearted

EVEN if I am wrong in thinking the Berlin crisis will soon be over, the general trend of Mr. Bevin's policy is likely to continue to be what it has been for the past two years: half-hearted efforts to get along with Russia. "Western Union," the curious name now given to the Western Alliance, is a step towards a rather more efficient form of military preparedness. Next year there may be an alteration in the British conscription system, for the scheme which is supposed to come into effect on Jan. 1, is absurd. One year's compulsory military service cannot, in these days of technical warfare, provide an adequate army.

The danger of Western policy now is that it will provoke Russia into 100 per cent. war preparations. As a pacifist, I do not like military policies any better because they are inefficient. Indeed, I think 100 per cent. military preparedness would be far better for everyone than 50 per cent. preparedness. I should not therefore see any objection to an increase in military service from one to two or even three years. It is surely a mistake to think that a weak army is more "pacifist" than a strong one; it might be wisest to abandon conscription in favour of selective service—a policy at which The New Statesman hints (Nov. 20)—although this might seem "undemocratic." Here again it is as stupid to talk of war preparations being "democratic" or "undemocratic" if they are meant to be taken seriously.

Folly of "moderation"

OSCAR WILDE said "nothing succeeds like excess." The experience of the inter-war years should teach us that nothing fails like "moderation" in preparing for war or for peace. Pacifism is not a moderate policy, and has nothing in common with any moderate policy. It suggests that we should abandon force for the settlement of international disputes, and even for the preservation of justice. Lord Russell's policy is also a policy of excess. It suggests that we should fight Russia while we have a chance of winning quickly.

There is a lot to be said for both these policies. The future of the world is black and uncertain because in fact we shall follow neither. The

western powers will probably dither for the next ten years, then go to war with Russia, and possibly lose.

Arab refugees' distress

IN turn from future calamity to present distress, the problem which has lately arisen to challenge our conscience is the plight of half a million Arab refugees from the Zionist armies who have taken control of Palestine. The Arabs have not the propaganda instruments in America and England which the Zionists can rely upon. The Moslem civilisation has been too long decaying for such as Egypt, Syria and Iran to succour their co-religionists.

Britain, who made so many promises to the Arabs in palmer days of the Empire, has some responsibility here. But the main duty rests with the United Nations. The UN, however, seems quite unable to deal with the Jews, although the USA (from whom the Zionists get their money) and the Communists countries (from whom the Zionists get their armament) are both sympathetic to Israel. The Spectator (Nov. 19) writes:

"Both in Palestine and in Paris, Jewish contempt for the authority of the United Nations (of which, oddly enough, they are still anxious to become a member) has become more marked. Not only do they claim all Galilee and the Negeb, contrary to UN decisions, but they have formally staked out a claim to Jerusalem and a strip joining it on the coastal plain. In addition they are remaining in occupation of fifteen villages in Lebanese territory and are still engaged in arms running on a large scale."

It seems to me that the sufferings of the Arab refugees are as great a reproach to the UN as the exploits of the Zionists are a mockery of its authority. The Security Council's discussion of the meaning of the words "armistice," "peace" and "truce"—much as it interests me as a piece of philosophical analysis—is no more likely to nourish the Arab refugees than it is to persuade the Zionists to temper their chauvinistic violence.

Coal board changes?

AT the time of writing the National Coal Board has not yet made known the findings of the special committee which was appointed to examine the structure of the Board. This committee was set up soon after the sensational resignation of Sir Charles Reid from the service of the Coal Board in the early summer. Among other things, Sir Charles complained that the NCB was too closely centralised. In other nationalised industries, and especially electricity, which has twelve regional boards, there has certainly been less concentration of power. By many people decentralisation is thought intrinsically desirable, so that Sir Charles's proposals met with a certain *a priori* approval, quite independently of the high regard in which his vast knowledge of coal mining is properly held.

From what has leaked out of the committee's findings, de-centralisation is not, it seems, to be recommended. It is likely to advocate less specialisation in the Board itself, and to suggest that more power should go to the managers at the pits. What I should like to have believed was that some sort of syndicalism or direct workers' control could be introduced. Even though by nature I am sceptical of the Robert Owen kind of enterprise, I cannot see how the miners can be expected to regard the mines as their own if they have no more than their present responsibility for management.

EASTERN ZONE RESISTERS WILL NOT BE FORGOTTEN

THE War Resisters' International have received a special request from the movement in the Western Zone of Germany to remember at Christmas time our friends in the Eastern Zone. As caution is needed in writing openly to our friends in the Eastern Zone, it was thought that Christmas time would provide just the right opportunity to give practical expression to our remembrance of them. It is suggested that quite small parcels of either food or clothing might be sent in time to reach them by Christmas or the New Year.

The WRI has a list of names and addresses of friends living in the Eastern Zone of Germany. Please write immediately to the WRI Secretary, Grace M. Beaton, Lansbury House 88, Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

Our cause on the "up grade"

FROM PAGE FIVE

NEW MEMBERS

are forming

NEW GROUPS

MEMBERS of the PPU who had joined within the last three months were invited to a "New Members Meeting" at Dick Sheppard House last week by the London Area Committee.

Stuart Morris opened the meeting with a general review of the history of the pacifist movement and explained the various activities of pacifists at the present time. He concluded by outlining the PPU's present task and what the movement hoped to do in the future.

The discussions and suggestions from the floor which followed revealed a general sense of urgency and a desire for action on the part of the new recruits. Several of those present, finding that there were no active groups in their district asked for lists of local signatories and offered to form new groups.

The few older members present were greatly impressed by the meeting, gaining new inspiration and confidence in the cause by seeing the quality of the men and women joining the pacifist ranks at the present time. J.S.

Labour Youth and PPU joint meeting

FOREST Hill and Sydenham PPU Group last week arranged a joint meeting with the West Lewisham Labour League of Youth, inviting Albert Tomlinson, Secretary of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, as the speaker.

In a wide survey of international politics, covering in a short time almost the whole world, Albert Tomlinson showed that Communism had replaced Fascism as the politicians' chief bogey. He stressed that despite the emotional appeal of Communist-baiting we were dealing still with human beings and a conflict of ideas; facts many people forgot. He showed that ideas were more important than violent action and declared that we should not be afraid of holding views that appeared to be different.

So often, Albert Tomlinson said, people who were antagonistic to pacifists questioned the consequences of a pacifist line of action. The same people, however, were easily moved by an emotional appeal to go to the aid of another country in distress, such as Belgium or Poland, without stopping to count the cost. He appealed to the Labour Government to act like a Socialist government instead of aping past Tory imperialist governments.

The meeting was concluded, after questions and discussion which revealed considerable sympathy for the pacifist cause, with a vote of thanks to Albert Tomlinson for his excellent and clear exposition.

Secretary of Forest Hill Group is Stanley Coursey, 15 Adamsrill Rd., S.E.26. M. B.

MOVEMENT NAZIS COULD NOT CRUSH

TONY BISHOP, Editor of the Australian Peacemaker, brought a heartening message when he spoke to the Bristol PPU Central Group recently.

Fresh from his travels in Europe, he told of nightly gatherings of Germans eager for news of the outside world, of his recent stay in Berlin and of the few courageous men of Milan prepared to face twenty or thirty years of imprisonment as the price of conscientious objection to military service.

He attributed his strengthened faith in the future of war-resistance to the Shrewsbury Conference and to its awakening in Europe. "If, after ten years of Nazi persecution, it is still there burning unquenchably, then it will not fail in the East."

In Britain, membership of the PPU had been swelling. We had probably gone through our dead period, he declared, and might find our cause very much on the up-grade in the years to come.

Secretary of the Group is Margaret L. Brooks, Friends Meeting House, Broadweir, Bristol, 1.

ISLINGTON. A new group has been formed and will hold its first meeting on Dec. 2 at 43 Dalmeny Rd., N.7. Hon. Sec. Mrs. Mary Lambert.

Sybil Morrison's

CAMPAIGN COLUMN

BERTRAND RUSSELL'S statement that when once Russia has the atom bomb "she would then be much more difficult to argue with" is an indictment (unintentional probably) of the whole case for negotiation backed by armaments. It is not only Russia who is more difficult to argue with when backed up by the atom bomb. There can be no such thing as peaceful negotiation when the nations' deliberations are shadowed and threatened with the ultimate use of overwhelming force.

The PPU National Council in its recent statement rightly linked negotiation with disarmament, and a great responsibility rests upon us to argue this case in season and out of season. The world would seem to be face to face with a choice—Bertrand Russell's new "Way to Peace" and the pacifist way.

The campaign takes on a new urgency as those who still believe that another war is not only inevitable but necessary, raise their voices for the nation to hear. In London we have no chance against the boycott of the national Press, but provincial and local newspapers can be, and should be made the forum of our pacifist case.

Plans for big meetings are going on with great enthusiasm. Bristol is to have Kathleen Lonsdale on March 6; the Newcastle meeting on Thursday, Dec. 16 in the Connaught Hall, Blackett Street at 7.30 is to be called "Is Peace With Russia Possible?" Glasgow's meeting in the St. Andrew's Hall on Sunday, Dec. 19, will be under the title "War, We Say No." There is a new Peace News poster carrying this slogan for those who sell Peace News. Don't forget to keep Jan. 21 free for the Central Hall, Westminster meeting. This will be the biggest pacifist rally since Dick Sheppard's Albert Hall meeting. We hope to have many of our sponsors on the platform.

Reports in Peace News indicate revival, all over the country, of energy and enthusiasm; the responsibility for keeping that sense of urgency alive and translating it into terms of active work must be shouldered by each individual member. Let me have your news please. SYBIL MORRISON.

VITAMINS FOR BERLINERS

BERLINERS are likely to be without fresh green vegetables if the blockade continues through the winter. To relieve the situation Friends Service Council is trying to raise £3,000 to enable them to despatch forthwith 5,000,000 vitamin tablets.

They have available for this purpose at the moment only about £1,200, which includes a number of donations from other British voluntary societies working in Europe. Still needed is £1,800. Donations towards this sum, which should be sent to Friends Service Council, Friends House Euston Rd., N.W.1, will be very welcome and will be gratefully acknowledged.

At an open-air meeting held on Greyfriars Green, Coventry, on Sunday evening, Oct. 24, Rev. Richard Lee spoke for an hour to a small crowd consisting mostly of young men. Questions were asked and 24 copies of Peace News sold.

This year's range of includes

- No. 1. Madonna and Child (Blue) with or without verse.
- No. 2. The Bells (Two shades of blue).
- No. 3. The Tree (Green and gold).
- No. 4. The Bridge (Black and white).
- No. 5. The Little Girl (Green, orange and black).
- No. 6. To All Men (Green and black) with greetings and verse in GERMAN and ENGLISH.

All one price 4d. each with envelopes (Postage 3d. extra for first dozen, plus 1d. for each extra dozen, 7 dozen and upwards 9d.).

ORDER A SAMPLE SET NOW

Six cards 2/3 (post free)

with particulars of DISCOUNTS-FOR-FUNDS, PRIVATE CARDS, ETC.

Help Peace News work for peace by buying and recommending

Published from 8 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by Peace News Ltd. Printed by W. F. Oxford Printing Co. Ltd. (T.U.), London, N.14.

Unite for

WORLD GOVERNMENT

by coming to a jointly sponsored

Mass Meeting

"at the

CENTRAL HALL

WESTMINSTER S.W.1

on

Monday, 29 November, 1948, 7 p.m.

(Doors open 6.30 p.m.)

Speakers:

SIR JOHN BOYD ORR, D.S.O. LL.D., F.R.S.

LADY PARMOOR,

SIR ADRIAN BOULT, D.Mus.

HENRY USBORNE, M.P.

ERNEST MILLINGTON, M.P.

Chairman:

RT. HON. CLEMENT DAVIES, K.C., M.P.

Short recording by

Prof. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan.

United Nations film

"SEARCHLIGHT ON THE NATIONS."

Apply immediately for tickets 10s., 5s., and 2s. 6d. (some free seats), from Organising Committee, 44, Bloomsbury St. London, W.C.1. MUSEum: 2858